

# PEACE NEWS

No. 365

JUNE 11, 1943

2d.

## DESIRE TO BUILD

A GENEROUS and unexpected gift of £2 from a reader in USA enables the Peace News Fund to make a brave showing this fortnight. This is the most substantial single donation the Fund has received.

But this munificence must not overshadow the steady and precious support from PPU groups who have been fired by the constructive purpose of the Fund. The desire to build instead of destroy is deep in the heart of most pacifists. In myself, I admit, it becomes consuming: perhaps disproportionate. But I am encouraged by the fact that so many PPU groups share it. Contributions since May 24: £122 10. 10d. Total to date £4,595 5s. 1d.

### THE EDITOR

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PACIFIST COMMENTARY  
EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

## German Hopes

IN the Sunday Times (Jun. 6) "Scrutator" makes the following list of some of "the more plausible expectations" of the Germans.

"(1) That the Western allies may be dishearteningly defeated in military assaults on the fortress of Europe, and end by quarrelling between themselves, or with Russia;

"(2) That the Russian Government may be so overwhelmed by its internal difficulties (particularly the food situation) as to accept a separate peace;

"(3) That incidents due to the abuse of freedom by key sections of workers within the democracies—whether corporate, as in the strike of the American mineworkers, or individual, as illustrated by the absenteeism of some of the younger miners in the British pits—may multiply until the democracies are hamstrung.

"(4) That the U-boats may win the sea-battle."

"Scrutator" says that (1) might easily have happened if the Government had yielded to the clamour for a Second Front in 1942. "The possibilities of (2) and (3) may be rated higher by those who know than by those who do not." But (4) is the pillar. "Scrutator" insists that the danger is still very serious.

"In the first 5 months of 1943 losses of Allied tonnage were over a third less than in the first 5 months of 1942. That may sound good. But it sounds less good when you remember that the former period's losses were about the heaviest in history."

### Most Terrible Battle

WHAT shall I say of "Scrutator's" No. 1? First, and above all else, that I hope with all my heart that this massive attack on the continent of Europe may yet be averted. It will be the most terrible battle in history. The Times (Jun. 7) is certainly not disposed to overestimate difficulties; yet it says:

"The invasion of Europe can only be rightly and safely regarded as the most formidable undertaking in military history; and it will be defended by desperate and still undefeated men. . . . In the days after Dunkirk. . . . Britain faced the most perilous phase of the war; but that which lies ahead may be the longest, the most arduous, and the most costly."

It is worth noting that Gen. Franco, who is probably the most vitally interested of all the neutrals in the outcome, apparently does not believe that the assault is going to be successful. The evidence for that statement is not his offer of mediation on the basis of a military stalemate. There is some excuse for interpreting that as an effort to avert the consequences of defeat from Franco's friends and former allies—Mussolini and Hitler. But Franco's sudden increase of provocation in Tangier (where he has forcibly closed down the British news-

## Second Front — Second Thoughts

*This is an appeal to THINKING people everywhere.*

*Whether you are Tory or Socialist, a believer in religion or materialism, optimistic or pessimistic, please think again in your inner heart before you plunge yourself and your kin and your friends into the maelstrom of a Second Front.*

*This maelstrom will circulate from a centre in Europe and submerge this troubled continent and then burst over the whole universe.*

**THINK** again, people of Britain! We have suffered over 200,000 casualties in the North African campaign. That was a great victory—but also a great loss.

It is as though Cardiff were squashed underfoot by some gigantic monster, and only one person in ten arose to writhe in this human abattoir.

Think again! Remember the Battle of the Bulge, Dunkirk, Singapore, Rangoon, Rostov, Stalingrad, Kharkov, and El Alamein. Don't think of numbers of casualties—think of boys and men, dead and wounded.

All men are brothers. Whether you believe in a Supreme Being or think that this worldly existence is all, you must admit that there is a link between all humans, since at least we are all born in a similar fashion. Some of us even feel alike.

But the main obstacle between us and world concord is that we do not all think alike; and the greatest point in this difficulty is that Britain and Germany do not think alike. The destiny of the world lies in the hands of these two empires—if those hands were clasped how much more secure and balanced that destiny would be!

Who says we are not alike? The British are solid: the Germans are stolid; isn't that much the same? The Germans play the tune of "God Save the King" to their own words; we have taken the tune of "Deutsch-

land, Deutschland Uber Alles" and fitted it to one of our hymns—isn't that sweet reciprocity? Does not a college student, whether German or British, chant on some occasion "Gaudeamus Igitur"?

### PROPAGANDA—AND FACT

Germany is not altogether the crude, ranting, stupid country that propaganda would have you believe. This country, which is the centre of Europe, gave the world Handel, Schumann, Lessing, Goethe, Froebel, Hallé, Beethoven, Bach, Wagner, Röntgen, Ehrlich, Thomas Mann, Karl Marx, our Queen Mary (daughter of Duke of Teck), and Prince Albert (Victoria's consort).

Remember that we appear as fanatical, pitiless, and callous to them as the Nazis have appeared to us. We have suffered, but nothing like the Germans are suffering now. Dortmund, Essen, and Cologne have been described as dead cities.

Think of the common people in this inhuman devastation. They have been blasted from the face of the earth and have been drowned like rats without warning in the recent flood disasters.

The phrase, "One of our aircraft is missing" is so often repeated that we tend to miss its meaning. Some of us have seen the horror of a plane crashing.

First of all think of a butterfly cooped in a matchbox which has been set on fire and imagine its vain struggles—then think of a pilot trapped in the debris of a crumpled plane. That is war too—as well as

only its policy but its genesis is explained by the following:

"The country has gone without the weapons of war which its fellow Latin Americans were receiving, it had been excluded from the food and agriculture conference, and it would perforce have been absent from other American and more largely international gatherings to come. This was too much to bear" (Times Washington Correspondent, Jun. 7).

### Russian Food-Situation

TO return to Scrutator's list. Will an assault on Europe really be made? If not, No. 2 will certainly become a serious possibility. The food-situation in Russia is graver than ever. (Against this background, the 18-course Socialist dinners given by Mr. Stalin to his guests and so luxuriously reported are curiously fantastic.) The Soviet delegate to the Food Conference put in an urgent plea for food for Russia. The technical report in the Economist (Jun. 5) begins:

"The sowing in Russia has been concluded and food prospects will largely depend on the results. This has probably been the most difficult agricultural campaign for two decades; and, unfortunately, no optimistic view can be taken of the results. For a number of reasons which reflect the cumulative effects of the war on Russian agriculture, this year's crops are almost certain to be substantially below the average. The sown area is smaller than ever, even if the Ukraine and the other German-occupied territories are left out of account; the inevitable deterioration in agricultural technique has become more accentuated; and some very important grain-producing areas (middle and lower Volga and Kazakhstan) are confronted this year with the danger of drought."

Nevertheless, it is almost impossible even to imagine that Russia will not pull through. But the figures

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hanging out flags and cheering victory marches.

### PROPAGANDA—AND FACT

Let us consider deeply. Remember that the Germans are not entirely at fault—it is only propaganda that makes it seem so.

We British are not angels—we have made blunders. We have made war against countries when we were at fault: we fought the USA as recently as 1812; we crushed the Boers in South Africa, and yet now General Smuts is one of our greatest advisers; we fought Burma three times before we annexed it; and we have been in error in Ireland and India.

We are not even consistent in our policy. Finland used to be our gallant ally, but we now regard her as a Quisling State. The main body of France is now our enemy and we bomb the people we profess to revere.

Despite our hatred of the Germans, we admire them. We have made Rommel a kind of hero and have congratulated ourselves on defeating him by superior numbers.

### PROPAGANDA—AND FACT

Remember that all Germans do not think like the Nazis—as all of us do not think like the National Government. Yet Germany appears to us as one vast Hitler—while the Germans regard us as one implacable Churchill.

A great move towards world unity would be the union of Britain and Russia—if Germany could also join this union, then peace would not seem such an incredible idea. We must work our hardest to make the miracle happen—remember that we have mis-trusted Russia almost as much as Germany.

Consider the cost of war—£14,000,000 a day—and think of the benefits the country would receive if that money were turned to practical use. Think of the grand houses, the hospitals, the improvements in working conditions we could obtain with that money in peace-time.

\* \* \*

Let us remember the common loves of the Germans and ourselves. We and they love music, science, philosophy, art, and drama.

Also we love the earth. Do you remember a scene from the film, "Gone With the Wind"? Scarlett O'Hara, desolate, bewildered, angry, suddenly remembers Tara and its rich soil and forgets her misery. That is our hope and salvation—when we forget our petty creeds and remember the earth out of which we grow and on which we feed—then shall our misery depart.

Tolstoy depicted the ravages of war during the last century; Liebknecht warned the world of the evil of militarism at the turn of the century; but you need no reminder—you have only to look around you. Think of the words you use—blitz, utility, debris, beautiful bomb, barrage, encirclement, sector, Second Front.

Think twice on this last phrase. Second Front means a holocaust. It means the death of thousands of common people like you and me; thousands of lads—their lads and ours—will not know Spring joy and Summer sunshine again.

Think of the Second Front, think of these facts, and think again!

GLYN BEVAN



## PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing & Advertisement  
Offices: (Please specify department)

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.  
Telephone: Stamford Hill 2262-3

### Subscription Rates:

Home: Quarterly, 3/3; Yearly, 12/6  
Abroad: Quarterly, 2/9; Yearly, 10/6

## The One Chance of Peace

A SPECIAL correspondent of The Times has contributed (May 27-29) three careful articles on opinion in America. The most sanguine reader cannot fail to be impressed with the extreme uncertainty whether the American people will consent to take any positive and permanent responsibility for the organization of post-war Europe. Isolationism may for the moment be relatively circumspect—though it is on occasion surprisingly outspoken—but the consensus of informed opinion is that it is as strong as ever and is biding its time.

We must not be misled by the recent improvement in President Roosevelt's chances of a fourth-term election. The great majority of the Americans—Isolationists included—desire to win the war, and they see no point in changing their Commander-in-Chief while the operations are going on. The scheming Republican politicians—who of course do no more scheming than the Democrats: politicians have to scheme—are probably by no means displeased at the thought that President Roosevelt will have to carry the baby. They want to be clear of all responsibility for the war, or the peace. It will leave them free to put the blame for the inevitable consequences of the war on the President, and to reject his peace, which will certainly make unpopular demands on the American people.

Meanwhile, they can cramp his style. With the utmost reluctance the President's power to conclude reciprocal trade agreements has been extended for two years by the Senate. Still more important, there is a stubborn refusal to impose adequate war-taxation. The great industrial and financial interests behind the Republican Party are increasing their power.

Well, what of it?

This, above all. That the longer this war lasts the more uncertain become all the much publicized hopes of a new British-American-Russian peaceful ordering of the world. By these hopes the prolongation of the war is justified. If the chances of permanent Anglo-American collaboration are so precarious, in spite of our common language, our common institutions, and our long record of friendship, what are the real chances of collaboration with Russia?

One need not expatiate on the absolute impossibility of a world-peace that is based on holding Germany down. The point is much simpler than that. Neither experience in the past, nor the evidences of the present, justify any belief that America, Britain, and Russia will collaborate in keeping the peace of the world. As soon as the war is over it will be in America, as it was in Britain in 1919, and will be again: "Bring the boys home!" In any conceivable democracy that cry will be triumphant. That will indeed be the will of the people. They may be divided in all things else; but they will be united in that. If that cry can be disregarded, it will only be because America and Britain have ceased to be democracies.

All the big talk of policing Europe until Germany is re-educated is so much moonshine. It will not happen. If, by impossibility, it did happen, it would be because we had ceased to be capable of re-educating Germany. Britain and America would have become militarist nations themselves. Russia has already become one again: just as France, after her Revolution, became one.

Unless we resolve to make quite a

THOSE members who at the A.G.M. supported the motion on the Armistice Campaign have a belief, both in the validity of the undertaking and the ability of the Union to carry it through, which I respect but do not share.

A careful reading of the reports in the A.G.M. agenda, particularly the paragraphs on the Food Relief Campaign, the Indian Freedom Campaign, and the Armistice Campaign should act as a useful corrective of much that has been and will be said and written on the latter. In point of fact such a reading serves but to emphasise the need for abandoning the whole idea of campaigning in the accepted sense of that term.

Let us look at certain figures from the reports in close juxtaposition. In the General Report the live membership is given as 114,366; from Peace News report we learn that the circulation is 17,600, although up to 19,000 copies could be published if the demand for them existed; and last, but not least, from the National Council election it appears that 5,000 voting papers were issued, of which 4,000 were returned. These figures are best left to speak for themselves: they have plenty to say.

Again, let us be fully aware of the not inconsiderable problems which still remain unresolved within our own ranks. Consider the controversy evoked by the editorial on "Pacifism and Politics." Also, the more recent articles on "Peace and the Policeman" deserve no little attention, because this is the "policeman" about whom a contributor to Peace News (Ponsonby, I think) once wrote that he had been chasing for over 25 years: now, the mirabile dictu—it would appear that the quarry has been given sanctuary below the editorial bed.

Is then the waging of campaigns our task or is it not rather the less spectacular one of preventing the guttering candle of pacifism from being extinguished by the winds of totalitarian war?

JAMES MCGILL

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### After the War

Post-war reconstruction is "in the air" nowadays, and innumerable groupings are concerning themselves with preparations for one form or another of relief work on the Continent. But some of us have felt that there is a special job to be done almost of a missionary kind, in assuaging bitterness, restoring faith in life and the meaning of life, rendering that spiritual support and encouragement to warped and broken people of whatever nation which will be essential if the world is ever to be put on a sane path again.

A certain number of pacifists, and others who feel impelled to do this sort of work in a spirit of Christian reconciliation, are already meeting in groups in Cambridge, Oxford, London, and elsewhere, to study a language and at the same time Christian fundamentals, in the hope and expectation that opportunities will come later on for at least some of their number to go abroad. These groups are beginning to be bound together in what is known as "Christian International Service"; but the movement needs to grow and bring in many more recruits who are willing to dedicate themselves to such a service, for a longer or shorter period, and are prepared to use the months of war-time, when international co-operation is at a minimum, in getting themselves ready for it.

We feel certain that among the numerous readers of Peace News there must be many who are in tune with this purpose and would like to be in touch with others of like mind. A bulletin of study notes and useful information is issued each month; and plans are now being made for a ten-day summer school in Oxford for serious trainees. Classes in German are already being held in London, and new members would be welcomed.

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different kind of ending to this war, unless we resolve that on no account must it be fought to the bitter end, one element in the future can be prophesied with certainty. Europe will remain a chaos—only more violent than before. The isolationism of America will make inevitable the isolation of Britain. That will be if we remain democracies. If not—and in that case a despairing generation will ask for what the war is fought—we shall find ourselves a militarist nation, bidding against Russia for the support of Germany. There is one chance, and only one, of a peaceful post-war world. It depends on making peace without victory.

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They may not be returned unless a stamped addressed envelope is enclosed, nor can we undertake to acknowledge each correspondence owing to increased cost of postage.

# To Campaign or to Conserve?



## Machines — and Men

ABOUT this belt business. The arguments on its behalf are sound and excellent providing—and here comes the fly in the ointment—man by his very nature wants everything nice and easy. A fact that has to be faced, by pacifists especially, is that perhaps he doesn't, and unless this is taken into account in a peace programme, we will most certainly find again that war will be the excuse for struggle and endurance.

Man spends at least half his adult waking life at work. It is not unreasonable, therefore, that his work largely determines his character, and must provide for his needs, economic and spiritual. Make work simple and uninteresting, and you make a man fit for living in a simple, easy world. How then can you expect him to be able to treat life as a serious matter? We go on making fool-proof machinery and then wonder why there are so many fools about.

The most virile men revolt, at the first excuse, and join the Air Force, or serve at sea, or enter the submarine service, because they are "browned off" by the simple, easy, comfortable, any-fool-can-operate business—not because they like it, but because it satisfies the man within them.

Having organized man to spend 8 hours a day pulling this lever and pressing that button to make the screw that holds the rod that turns, etc., etc., to make the thingummy-bob, what other form of Government can we expect to work than a totalitarian one, a masterpiece of planning, easy for yes-men, but a soulless bureaucracy?

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William Morris said of "those miraculous machines" that, "if orderly forethought had dealt with them," they "might even now be speedily extinguishing all irksome and unintelligent labour, leaving us free to raise the standard of hand and energy of mind in our workmen, and to produce afresh that loveliness and order which only the hand of man guided by his own soul can produce." It is quite clear that Morris approved of machines where they "entailed no detriment upon the work, either directly or through the enslavement of the men who did the work."

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## COMMENTARY

(Continued from page 1)

of available Russian man-power, carefully collected by a military friend, suggest that, without a British-American assault on Europe on the largest possible scale, Germany will not find it difficult to hold the Eastern front.

### Workers' Reaction

SCRUTATOR'S No. 3 shows something of his conservative bias. A graver danger than strike-action in America is the condition of things which gave John L. Lewis his most cogent defence for calling out the mine-workers. This is the inflationary trend caused by the enormous demand for civilian consumption goods. The figures of increased American consumer income are staggering.

The individual citizens of the United States have in the aggregate about 3,000 million dol. more income, after taxation, than they had two years ago. Slightly more than 1,000 million dol. a month is being mopped up in war savings bonds, leaving the enormous amount of about 2,000 million dol. a month, or 24,000 million dol. a year—considerably more than the whole pre-war British national income—as a net addition to potential purchasing power" (Economist, Jun. 5).

The writer goes on to say that no legislative or administrative mechanisms can dam up inflation, if so great a head of liquid purchasing power presses on the dam. Moreover, a now hostile Congress is in control of the key to the situation: taxation. And there is no possibility of a coalition government.

### Power of Big Business

AT bottom, the grave danger of inflation in USA is due to the deep political division of the country. There is nothing unhealthy in that, in itself: it is the natural condition of a functioning political democracy. The American trend is an illustration of the fundamental thesis (to which the wishful thinkers of Britain shut their eyes) that political democracy and total war are incompatible. But the semi-total war, which is all that American democracy permits, is going to have formidable consequences.

The USA is working up for a post-war political cleavage of unprecedented magnitude. Consider whence comes that prodigious increase of consumer income. It comes in the main from the increased operations of "big business." After the war, American big business will wield colossal power. "It will come out of the war with great additions to plant and equipment, free and clear of debt, most of it modern and highly productive. It will also come out with reserves of unprecedented size, giving it immense financial power." So writes George Soule in the New Republic. It is quoted by the New York financial correspondent of The Times (Jun. 7), who has hitherto not been conspicuously friendly to American labour. He seems to have sensed the danger ahead.

## C.O.s' Witness

BECAUSE the position of the absolutist is wholly admirable it is a thousand pities that John Morley should uphold it by disparaging COs who accept "creative" work under governmental direction.

The absolutist compromises with the Government when he buys his sugar. Exemptionists, with all their neuroses, compromises, failures to adhere to the pledge, and so forth, bear valuable witness to pacifism, greater in extent, if less in quality, than that of the absolutist, who tends to spend most of his time in prison, where society knows nothing of him.

Again, soldiers do not fall into two classes only—there are many men in the Forces who are pacifists by conviction—their neuroses must be worse than those of the exemptionists. That a stern sense of duty sustains the serving soldier is a delusion cherished by many pacifists which they should relinquish, if only in justice to COs. Then, surely, it is too sweeping to state that only the attitude of the absolutist in the last war had any lasting effect on the public.

The conclusion in the last two paragraphs seems to me so adequate a statement of the case, and all that goes before so unjust and inaccurate, that I wish that only the conclusion had been written.

MARJORIE HAMLYN

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John Morley's article on The Absolutist seems highly relevant and logically unanswerable. Yet there is one vitally important matter which he has completely overlooked. How, under present conditions, is the absolutist to earn his bread and butter in a way that is entirely compatible with his principles? In a society almost completely geared to the war effort, what legitimate occupations are still left open to him?

The question is particularly urgent for those of us who have not been trained for some humanitarian or socially valuable professional work, such as doctoring or teaching. Or in other cases, such as my own, our pre-war occupation may simply have disappeared, becoming anachronistic under present conditions. What then can we do that will absolve us from the necessity of offering our "pinch of incense" in the intervals when we are not in prison?

This seems to be a matter of growing urgency, now that totalitarianism is closing in upon us in earnest. Can Mr. Morley or any others make some practical suggestions which will help to resolve the increasing perplexities of would-be absolutists? Can they indicate to us (privately, if necessary) the whereabouts of the remaining "interstices"?

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### The American Ethos

THIS already immense and rapidly growing economic and financial power of big business is behind the new Republican majority in Congress. It is behind the refusal of Congress to allow adequate taxation. And it is supported by whole hosts of little business men, who would be big. For the dominant ethos of USA is still the mixture of legend and truth which declares that in USA anyone, with the ability, can become "a big boy on the hill." That is still an article of faith with the average decent American; and still an article of faith with him that organized labour wants to throw a crowbar into the works of his beneficent system. And the average decent American has this on his side: that the organization of labour has not seldom been a pretty ugly racket.

Everything is being prepared for a head-on political clash of almost cosmic proportions in America. If the war does not come to an end by the scheduled American dates: 1944 for Germany, 1946 for Japan, then the clash may come during the war. For tight centralized control will be absolutely necessary before 1946. And this necessary control Congress, inspired by big business, plainly intends to fight all the way.

### Breeding Monsters

ANOTHER prologue to the omen coming on May be found in the ad hoc and uneasy union achieved by de Gaulle and Giraud, whose purpose is "a renovated Republic." The new "government"—for such the Committee of National Liberation is in fact—is using the mystique of the French Revolution: the new heads of departments are "commissaires." But behind the facade the struggle for personal power is visible. No doubt de Gaulle has a "vision": so had Hitler. And de Gaulle's vision is perhaps not very different, though more technical. Suppose we call it a nationalist militarized technocracy. Has it anything whatever to do with Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite; or with British ideas of liberty?

De Gaulle has vetoed the appointment of Andre Labarthe, the editor of the best French journal published here, "La France Libre," whom Giraud had made head of the Department of Information. Labarthe mildly criticized de Gaulle for his dictatorial ways. De Gaulle's indubitable power derives from his being the focus of French nationalism. The string on which he is now harping is: "We will win our freedom by ourselves." That is illusionism. De Gaulle's movement, like Giraud's army, would have been impossible without British and American money. We may find, too late, that we have nourished a monster. Total war breeds monsters. I have sketched the shape of two. My readers can delineate the home-bred specimen.

## Lord Ponsonby on the **PLUTOCRATS'** **POWER**

IN talking to an elderly lady about war prospects, I was surprised at her saying "I hope I shall die before the war is over because I dread after the war." Like many Tories, she fears the establishment of the Left as a Government carrying out an extreme socialist policy. I myself neither hope nor fear anything of the kind.

Few recognize the ever growing power of the plutocracy. Without any apparent political organization, they permeate the Tory Party, have got the Liberals at their beck and call, and know exactly how to emasculate Labour leaders. They do not blame, they praise. As that wise woman, the late Beatrice Webb, said: "Tories don't attack Socialists, they embrace them." They embraced Ramsay MacDonald and killed him spiritually.

They never embraced Keir Hardie. He knew what they were up to and was purposely and consistently rude to them.

### Prophecy

IF I had to make a prophecy about the future—a risky thing to attempt—I should have to take a long view. The Prime Minister will continue to dominate Parliament, but he will find peace more difficult to tackle than the war has been. Peace-making is not his métier. He will be glad to be relieved.

At the General Election, the Tories will be in the ascendant. The plutocrats will become still more powerful and will direct policy. Aristocrats will practically disappear except in cases where they have allied themselves by marriage still more closely with the plutocrats.

Then the real challenge will stand out naked and unashamed, and real socialism will be born ready with leadership and organisation to take up the challenge and to recover the ground they will certainly lose at the first post-war General Election.

### Voice of the People

I HAVE been delighted at the way the people's voice on the subject of the new ration books has been listened to: ordinary people, not necessarily electors; not the voice of Parliament, although there were a few questions in the Commons, but just Tom, Dick, and Harry and also Mrs. Tom, Mrs. Dick, and Mrs. Harry—not to mention Miss Jones and Miss Robinson. The local press has been admirable. The editors have listened to their constituents, i.e., their readers, and formulated their complaints in verse and telling paragraphs. So the Minister of Food had to retract and give in.

I sometimes wonder whether the Minister or his staff have ever been in the country. They seem to regard it as fields to be ploughed up. The egg muddle was bad enough. But this muddle with ration books and identity cards has been much worse. Men and women, culpably acquiescent as they have been in these years, suddenly found they were expected to walk miles or take long bus journeys, not to receive their books but to be allowed the privilege of waiting for hours in a queue. The staff of advisers of the Ministry of Food and of the Ministry of Agriculture, too, must all live within a stone's-throw of Clapham Junction.

But how fine it is that this chorus of common people has been listened to. How magnificent it would be if a similar chorus without organization could stop the next war. But the Minister of Food could not lie. When war is the issue, lying begins so early that the people are not even aware there is any danger.

Arthur Ponsonby

## WILFRED WELLOCK on the **Mission of Community**

In the article on "Communism and Community," by Bill Grindlay, in *Peace News* (May 14) the alternative policies confronting those who are opposed to reaction are boiled down to Communism and Community. With that conclusion I am in complete agreement.

Incidentally I observe that he is careful to say, when writing of Community, that "there is a tendency among its advocates to wipe out the 19th and 20th centuries and to draw them again; and that many a member of the land communities finds in them merely a means of escape from a baffling social problem. Again I agree, but, these facts notwithstanding, I believe that community opens the way to individual salvation on a sufficiently large scale to enable it to become a method of social salvation. To this problem my mind is continually returning, although I freely admit that no cut and dried solution is yet within sight.

It may, however, help towards a solution if I state how I envisage the future, and how I believe Community can be made to play at least a major role in the task of social transformation.

**G**OVERNMENT propaganda—propaganda for the maintenance of the existing class-based society—has scored a resounding triumph in this war, having completely undermined and destroyed the party politics of 1939, including the Labour Party, and even accomplished the virtual defeat of democracy.

The political situation is now such that the Government, by the adroit handling of the recent and anticipated military successes, and of the commanding diplomatic position it now occupies, will be able to maintain its hold upon the people during and after the war, and even in the troubled period which is certain to follow the minor post-war boom, when the repercussions of the economic revolutions that are now taking place begin to be felt.

That hold will be so strong, for it will have been strengthened by daring social legislation—particularly in the sphere of insurance—that in the turbulent times which will follow, counter-revolution will almost certainly secure an easy triumph over revolution.

It is in the period following that triumph that, in my opinion, the real revolution, that of the spirit, starting in a change of values and ending in a new way of living, will begin.

In this period the mechanistic civilization which this war is carrying to a new high level, will reach its climax. It will triumph over and subjugate a very large section of the community, thus converting it into a robot society. Unless that dehumanizing process is checked, it will be quickly followed by galloping decay and death.

And it may be checked; for there will be another section, probably much smaller, in which the spark of life and liberty will not die. That spark will be kindled into flame by the creative work of the groups who for many years will have been quietly building up a new social order on the basis of community.

This propaganda of the deed will have achieved, within a limited sphere, a true democracy, which will have

### WORDS OF PEACE—24

## Law of Karma

"ALL they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" is the inexorable law of real life; and the swordman's belief in a conclusive victory is an illusion.

An instrument that has once been used to destroy life cannot then be used to preserve life at the user's convenience. The function of weapons is to kill; and a ruler who has not scrupled "to wade through slaughter to a throne" will find—if he tries to maintain his power thereafter without further recourse to the grim arts which have gained it—that sooner or later he will be confronted with the choice between letting the power slip through his fingers or else renewing his lease of it by means of another bout of bloodshed. The man of violence cannot both genuinely repent of his violence and permanently profit by it. The law of Karma is not so easily evaded as that.

Toynbee's "Study of History," Vol. VI, p. 178 ff.

secured the attention and regard of thousands who are conscious of their spiritual enslavement. Spiritual starvation and the desire to escape from the cul-de-sac of a totalitarian society will make them keenly receptive to the appeal of community living.

I also opine that by this time those in authority will be sick and tired of the worries and fears of totalitarian power, and will secretly welcome this new development as offering a way of escape from the hell of that power. I can thus visualize the growth of a movement for fundamental reconstruction on the lines of community which would accomplish the revolution we pacifists desire.

That revolution will be stimulated and rendered easier by the breakdown of large-scale industry over a very wide field, owing to the determination of all nations to satisfy the natural longing to be as completely self-supporting as is reasonably possible. As a result of this tendency, Britain will be compelled to acquire a more balanced economy. Incidentally, that will be for her good.

I am encouraged in my belief by what is happening in Soviet Russia. Boris M. Stanfield, who lived in Russia until 1921 and is now Assistant Professor in Economics at Columbia University, stated in an article published in 1941 that while all large-scale industrial enterprises are operated by a government bureaucracy,

"nevertheless there exist, around 80,000 industrial co-operatives with over a million and a half members and an output valued at billions of rubles. These self-governing enterprises are operated by voluntary associations of citizens who pool their funds and skill and work; they run small mines, quarries, timber mills, chemical plants, fisheries, repair shops, and produce all sorts of commodities from coal and bricks to household articles, boots, toys, artistic wood and metal objects, and laces and embroideries. Other co-operatives render a variety of services as porters, tailors, watchmakers, carpenters, plumbers, etc."

"The co-operatives are forbidden to use hired labour; but their equipment belongs to themselves, as does their output. . . . The profit is divided among the members according to the governmental regulations applying to co-operatives."

"In agriculture the co-operative form of production plays an overwhelming part. . . . over 90 per cent. of the total area of cultivation in the Soviet Union being under co-operative or 'collective' farm production. . . . the government transferred to the collective farms in recent years a considerable acreage carved out from the State farms."

That is highly significant and gives one great hope.

I therefore share Bill Grindlay's belief that the PPU ought to be the movement to lead this country into the way of social salvation. But I go further than him in that I believe I see, though dimly, the path we must travel. That path is, in my opinion, the next stage of the journey which was begun when the PPU produced its Four Affirmations.

### FORCED LABOUR IN BRITISH COLONIES

How forced labour has been introduced, since the war, into British colonies is described in a pamphlet entitled "Forced Labour" published by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society (Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd., London, S.W.1), price 3d.

The latest (April) issue of the Society's periodical, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* (6d.) is almost exclusively devoted to the West Indies and the recent Act for Development and Welfare of the Colonies. The Society has also published its annual report for the year ending Mar. 31.

An examination of forced labour in British colonies, written from a pacifist point of view, is in course of preparation and, it is hoped, will be published in the near future as a 1d. Peace News Pamphlet.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:  
**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.**  
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:  
\* PPU HEADQUARTERS, \*  
Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1

## PAMPHLETS and PROFITS

**G**ROUPS were asked a while back to give their views on a possible reduction in the discount to them on PPU pamphlets. Only a few have so far replied, but some of the answers raise questions that it may be well to discuss. One in particular remarked rather tartly that the group saw no reason why either groups or Headquarters should make any profit out of PPU pamphlets: surely the aim should be to sell them as cheaply as possible. And of course that is the aim.

What I think is worth making clear is that there is not in any real sense a profit made by Headquarters on our own publications. Most pamphlets bring in more money than they cost to print; nearly all leaflets and a few pamphlets are deliberately priced at or even below cost. If the Literature Committee has done its job properly, there is an excess of income over expenditure on the year's publications, but this is not a real profit, because it does not cover all the labour and establishment costs that a commercial publishing concern would have to meet. The fact is, of course, that no publisher could exist on the publication of a dozen or two cheap pamphlets a year. It simply is not possible to be fully self-supporting on that small scale.

What we try to do—and it is the sale of other pamphlets and books that makes it possible—is to see that the General Fund of PPU is better rather than worse off as a result of the dealing in literature which in any case must be a part of Headquarters work. And, while increase of price cannot be avoided, we have tried, especially in the Peace News series, to meet the demand for cheap pamphlets.

The "profits" that groups may make are a different matter, if one should call "profits" the small amounts that go to help group funds as the result of so much labour and enthusiasm. Whether they are in fact worth anything to groups, or whether everything should go into setting the lowest possible selling price is the question we want groups to help us to decide. For discounts are not merely given, they have to be paid for, and every discount that is given must be paid for by the people who buy the pamphlet at its full price. Now that, because of war prices, the cost of printing is so much greater, it may well be the discount that decides whether a pamphlet can be sold at seven-eighths of a penny—which means one penny, or at one penny and an eighth, which as a convenient price means twopence.

One letter which has come to us at Headquarters asked: How can the amount of discount we get affect our sales? The pamphlet is still the price. The answer is that if there is less discount to be allowed for, the printed one.

We still want to know what groups think. So see that your Literature Secretary writes to us.

ALAN STANILAND

### a pamphlet for study

## PACIFIST TECHNIQUES

by Charles F. Titford  
with an introduction  
by Alex Wood

Price 6d. (post free 7d.)

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street,  
London, W.C.1.



## "Unconditional Surrender" Policy Protests

WITH six pages and a special Armistice article on the front, it is hoped that our JUNE 25 issue will be fully used by PPU Groups, Regions, etc., for a combined Peace News selling and Armistice Campaign effort.

It may not be too late to start preparing now.

Help and advice may be had from the Armistice Campaign Committee (at PPU headquarters) or (in the case of special selling efforts) Peace News (3 Blackstock Rd., N.4). It is hoped to have a special poster suitable for both campaign and selling of Peace News.

The first edition of "The Northern Friends' Peace Board states the case for Peace by Negotiation" (the pamphlet reviewed in these columns, May 14) having been exhausted, a second edition (incidentally, in more readable type, and running, we understand, to 5,000) is being printed. It is obtainable from the NFPB, Friends' Meeting House, Clifford St., York, price 3d.

### BIRMINGHAM MEETING

The Armistice Campaign was continued in Birmingham last Friday with a public meeting at the Midland Institute, in the centre of the city, addressed by James Hudson, who declared that he personally was not going to allow the policy of "unconditional surrender" to be enunciated by press, wireless and leaders as the policy of this country without raising his own voice in protest: he wanted the fighting stopped at the earliest possible moment and an armistice declared, so that the nations could then table their demands one of another and the processes of reason and discussion begin.

"By the policy of unconditional surrender," he said, "you are not helping the small nations: you are submitting them to a prolonged and intensified crucifixion, making them the victims of an utterly futile policy." Similarly, they would not be helping the Jews.

Many people of socialist sympathies said that at all costs we must help Russia. But was the prolongation of the war really going to help the Russian people? If people wanted to help Russia, why not send food now, as could be done quite legitimately in Russian ships across the Pacific from Canada to Vladivostok? But when it came to a practical step like this there was, it seemed, inexplicable delay and hesitation at the Hot Springs food conference.

The longer the war went on the worse would be the peace that came out of it. He appealed to pacifists wholeheartedly to support the campaign and not to be afraid to raise their voice in favour of Armistice within the Co-operative, Labour, and Trade Union movements. He appealed too for more open-air meetings. Where was this violence that some people feared would greet an Armistice Campaign? He travelled the country, speaking as he was, speaking at Birmingham, and had seen no sign of it.

He believed that the conscience of a growing number of people had been touched by the recent destruction and loss of life following the bursting of the German dams, and he believed a growing number of the ordinary men and women of Britain were ready for the message which the Armistice Campaign had to offer them.

Mr. G. W. Wastell, chairman of the Birmingham Council of the PPU, presided, and about 120 attended the meeting.

A public meeting to consider the advantages of an Armistice over the demand for "unconditional surrender" was held at Leicester on May 29, when the case was forcibly and clearly pleaded by Dr. A. D. Beiden.

The speaker showed what continuing the war means in terms of population figures, with the loss of the flower of our manhood leaving older people to carry on; and in terms of lowered moral standards everywhere.

If the church as a whole were true to its sacred trust, a way of approach between peoples would be found in spite of the artificial barriers set up and reinforced by coercion and intimidation of varying degree.

## Repeated Fire-Watch Penalties

ONE of the main planks of the Government's policy in dealing with conscientious objectors in this war has been its refusal to recognize any right of conscience to civil work.

When the Central Board for COs met on Saturday it issued an urgent call to all COs and their supporters to take all possible steps to press upon the Government the need for a conscience clause for that minority of COs whose conscience impels them to refuse compulsory fire-watching duties or forms of compulsory registration for such duties. Individuals and organizations are asked to write to the Minister of Home Security, Whitehall, S.W.1, as well as to MPs and the local press, supporting the cause of conscience in fire-watching matters and deprecating the prosecutions of COs that have already taken place.

The Central Board has record of 227 men and 35 women who have been prosecuted for fire-watching offences committed on grounds of conscience, some being prosecuted twice and three times, four having been prosecuted four times, and now one—George P. Elphick, of Lewes—for the fifth time.

### MORE PROSECUTIONS

F. Arthur Field, a member of Oldbury PPU Group, was on May 18 sentenced at Birmingham to a total of 39 days' imprisonment in lieu of £6 fines on three charges of failure to fire-watch at his place of employment. He had been at liberty for only seven weeks

since his previous imprisonment for 21 days for the same offence.

The appeal of Charles Varney, a New Eltham PPU member, against a sentence of three months' imprisonment for failure to register for Civil Defence duties, lodged on the grounds that "the decision is ultra vires and contrary to Common Law," was heard at the Newington Sessions on June 3.

After the Woolwich Borough Council's evidence had been given, and the judge had read "the relevant facts" from a long statement in which Varney had argued his case, Varney stated: "I must make it quite clear why I have appealed. It is not to get a mitigated sentence, but to establish a right of conscience and get justice. I am acting as Common Informer under Common Law."

Judge Cockburn: You are wrong there, you know. . . Your legal angle is nonsense, and so is your moral approach. You seem to want to martyr yourself, but we are not prepared to let you.

Prosecuting Counsel: It is only fair to this man to say that, but for information lodged with Woolwich Borough Council by annoyed neighbours, this action would never have been brought. Woolwich Borough Council have made no other prosecutions for a similar offence either before or since the charge was made.

The sentence was reduced to one month and leave to appeal further was denied.

### LAND WORK AVAILABLE

A statement issued by the Ministry of Agriculture on June 4 said:

"Reports of a recent case before a conscientious objectors' tribunal may have given the impression that there is no shortage of agricultural labour in the Home Counties. That is not so. Most of the agricultural committees for the Home Counties need extra men for regular employment and thousands of volunteers."

At a hearing before the London Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Fulham on Thursday, as reported in the Daily Telegraph, a Ministry of Labour official said he thought there were no vacancies now under any agricultural committee scheme in the Home Counties.

## Risks We Run . . .

THE Manchester Guardian has again (May 28) carried a forthright leader on the subject "Food for Europe." Referring to the "hundred thousand children (who) were receiving dried milk and certain essential vitamins from the American Red Cross and the American Friends' Service Committee" as "a modest attempt to alleviate misery," the Guardian proceeds:

"This help has come to an end. Today there is a demand from responsible people for the restoration of this relief. The funds, the food, and the shipping are available, but the British Government refuses navicerts. . . . The only argument against attempting to check infant mortality in France and Belgium by schemes of relief is the argument that the Germans may seize the dried milk and vitamins or increase their extortion in those countries where this help is given . . .

"When that argument is reduced to this point the question becomes a choice of risks. What is the danger that Germany will receive any serious accession of strength from seizing the very limited quantities of food that would be sent to France and Belgium under the proposed scheme? . . . Are we then to wait in the hope that one day the food in Europe will have shrunk to such an extent that even the Germans will starve? Are we to wait, that is, until the rest of Europe has starved to death before trying to give any relief because when the rest of Europe has starved to death Germany will have to starve, too?"

"The risk," the writer asserts, "that we shall strengthen Germany is surely very slight. On the other hand we run two grave risks in refusing all relief, even experimental relief. These are the risks of 'weak and emaciated peoples' as neighbours of a relatively healthy Germany, and the risk of permanent estrangement with those friendly peoples. The writer concludes:

"The memories of the war will be complex and various, and among them the memory of dead children whose lives might have been saved will have a bitter and haunting power."

**CHARGES:** 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra).

**CASH** must accompany copy, except for series bookings.

**LATEST TIME** for copy to be received: MONDAY.

### ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION required by young man (pacifist) end Aug., preferably West England. Full details: all replies answered. Box 906 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION required Jul. 19 for two weeks, young couple and boy age 8, away from E. Anglian area, bathing essential. Details, Hunt, 44 Bixley Rd., Ipswich.

HOUSE, BUNGALOW, or Flat required from August, between Harlow and Cambridge. State details and inclusive cost. Mallone, Harlow College, Essex.

WANTED, SMALL detached cottage or bungalow, garden, N. Wales coast (Conway to Barmouth); Aberystwyth; St. Davids; Cardiff—Barry area; S. Devon coast; W. Cornwall (Lizard-Land's End area). £200/450. Cash if cheap. Vacant or early possession essential. Box 917 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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### EDUCATIONAL

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### LAND & COMMUNITY

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### LITERATURE, &c.

"INDIA: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?" describes conditions among 75 per cent. of the people of the Empire. 3d. per copy (postage 1d.), from Douglas Owen, 6 Mount St., Manchester 2.

PEOPLE'S BOOK SERVICE for your pacifist and progressive literature. All the latest pamphlets, books, new and second-hand. Write for our lists (1d.), P.B.S., 18 Noel St., Oxford St. (off Wardour St.), W.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

### MEETINGS, &c.

ART EXHIBITION. local artists, Dick Sheppard Centre, 146 Blackheath Hill, S.E.10. Open days, Jun. 19 and 23 at 7.30 p.m., Jun. 27 at 6 p.m.

BLACKHEATH. Fenner Brockway on "India." Dick Sheppard Centre, 146 Blackheath Hill, S.E.10 (nr. "Green Man." 58a bus route), Thurs, Jun 17, 7.30 p.m.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

### MEETINGS (Cont.)

BOURNEMOUTH Peace Pledge Union Group. Sundays, 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Rd. Visitors welcomed.

CONCERT. Gunnersbury Congregational Church Hall, High Rd., Chiswick, Wed., Jun. 16, 7.30, in aid of European Food Relief Campaign and War Resisters' International. Chairman, Vera Brittain. Admission free, silver collection.

EDMONTON RECITAL, Sat., Jun. 12, at 6.30 p.m., Edmonton Independent Church, Upper Room, Knights Lane. Artists, Eric M. Prince, pianist; Frances Newport, contralto.

"FOR SANITY AND HUMANITY." Essex Hall, Essex St., Strand, Wed., Jun. 16, 6.45. R. Sorensen, MP, W. Cove, MP, Rev. John Groser, and others.

JAMES HUDSON and Duke of Bedford, Friends Hall, Lancaster, 7 p.m., Sat., Jun. 19. Few seats at 1s. Tom Rhodes, 55 Parkfield Drive.

LIVERPOOL. "Peace News—in spite of War." John Cowling will speak at Hope St. Church Library on Sat., Jun. 26, at 7.30 p.m. All interested in P.N. invited.

LUNCH HOUR ADDRESSES at Friends House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Jun 15, 1.20 p.m., The World Problem of Money—The Keynes Plan (speaker, to be announced); Jun. 22, 1.20 p.m., Unemployment, B. Seeborn Rowntree (Author of "Poverty and Plenty," etc.).

MERSEYSIDE REGION. Roy Walker will speak on "Non-violence for the West" at Unity Cafe, Williamson St. (off Church St.), Liverpool, on Fri., June 18, at 7.30 p.m.

MURIEL LESTER on India. City PPU Group, Vestry, St. Margaret's, Lothbury, E.C.2, at 1.15, Fri., Jun. 18.

THE LIBERTARIAN Anarchist Movement invites you to a social and dance at the Art-workers' Guildhall, Queens Square, Southampton Row, W.C.1, on Fri., Jun. 18, at 7 p.m. Tickets 2s. at door.

### PERSONAL

BIRMINGHAM PACIFIST SERVICE needs Part-time Men (rescue) and Women (shelter feeding); should also be able type, make toys, or do club-work, etc.). Fellowship and Service. Write: "Whetstone," Somerset Rd., Birmingham 15.

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN, 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff.

DESMOND ROUGHT'S last List coming. Patience.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

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EXPERIENCED WOMAN Warden, preferably some knowledge French, required for West Country hostel refugee and evacuee school children. Apply Box 924 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, ATTENDANT on epileptic men and boys. Salary £70 per annum with board residence and laundry. Apply Medical Superintendent, The Homestead, Lingfield, Surrey.

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

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WANTED for dairy work (under Essential Works Order), (1) man to do delivery round, with Ford car, and (2) man to work on bottle washing and filling machines. S. Bucks. Box 923 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, HANDY-MAN or woman for small holding, milking, mkt.-gdn. Must be interested outdoor work, willing, not exalted; refs. nec. Box 922 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, MAN, STRONG, willing to do anything on mixed farm; live with family; C.O. not objected to. F. H. Goodland, Stathern Lodge, Stathern, Melton Mowbray.

WANTED, STRONG, single farmworker, experienced preferred; staff all C.O.s; Nottinghamshire. Box 921 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, TEACHER of modern Greek. Dunstable district, for C.O. taking up relief work after war. Box 916 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, Young assistant for small Market Garden nr. Taunton (Somerset). Good home with full board, pleasant surroundings, and pocket money. Apply Box 897 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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C.O., 21, desperately needs situation. Some writing experience, could teach. Preferably Kent. Box 909 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (34) SINGLE, seeks market gardening or farmwork. Inexperienced; would consider partnership. Box 915 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXP. CERT. Teacher. Advertiser please send name, address, PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXPERIENCED COOK, interested vegetarian cooking, holder Social Science Diploma, seeks post quiet district. Husband, student, would do part time work. Box 920 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

GIRL, 19 years, vegetarian, pacifist, seeks employment on market garden, 3 months' experience. Box 919 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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SEA BATHING from holiday camp. Sites 1s. tents, hut; 2s. night. Fresh eggs, milk, vegetables. Finch, Hullbridge, Essex. Land Girl wanted.

WYE VALLEY. Guest house in own parkland of 150 acres. Homely atmosphere. Vegetarians and others catered for. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.) London, N.16.

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